

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 PEKING 1430

NODIS

E.9. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS:
SUBJECT: VERBATIM TRANSCRIPT OF MEETING BETWEEN CONGRESSIONAL
STAFF DELEGATION AND VICE FOREIGN MINISTER WANG
HAI-JUNG

REF: PEKING 1429

TIME: 4:00 PM TO 4:45 PM, WEDNESDAY JULY 28, 1976
PEKING HOTEL

PARTICIPANTS:

CHINESE:
WANG HAI-JUNG, VICE MINISTER OF FORIEGN AFFAIRS
KE PO-NIEN, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
KANG TAI-SHA, DEPUTY SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S
INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
FAN KUO-HSIANG, RESPONSIBLE PERSON, CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
CHENG WAN-CHEN, INTERPRETER FOR THE SESSION; RESPONSIBLE PERSON
OF CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
KU YI-JEN, CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
KU KE-PING, CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
YIN TSO-CHIN, CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
TANG WEN-SHENG, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, AMERICAS AND OCEANIA DEPARTMENT,
CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY
CONFIDENTIAL

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TING YUAN-HUNG, DIRECTOR, UNITED STATES DESK, CHINESE FOREIGN
MINISTRY
CHIN KUI-HUA, CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY
WANG LI, CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY

HU FENG-HSIEN, CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY; NOTETAKER FOR SESSION
CHENG HUA-SHE, NCNA REPORTER

AMERICAN:

PAT M. HOLT, CO-LEADER, CHIEF OF STAFF, SENATE FOREIGN
RELATIONS COMMITTEE
MARIAN A. CZARNECKI, CO-LEADER, CHIEF OF STAFF, HOUSE
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE
MICHAEL PERTSCHUK, CHIEF COUNSEL, SENATE COMMERCE COMMITTEE
JOHN R. STARK, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE
ALISON BRENNER, STAFF CONSULTANT, HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
COMMITTEE
HYDE H. MURRAY, COUNSEL, HOUSE AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE
ROBERT A. BEST, CHIEF ECONOMIST, SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE
WILLIAM H. JORDAN, PROFESSIONAL STAFF MEMBER, SENATE
APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE
LINDA KAMM, GENERAL COUNSEL, HOUSE BUDGET COMMITTEE
HAROLD T. LAMAR, PROFESSIONAL STAFF MEMBER, HOUSE WAYS
AND MEANS COMMITTEE
W. CLARK MCFADDEN II, COUNSEL, SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE
RICHARD M. MOSSE, STAFF ASSOCIATE, SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS
COMMITTEE
THOMAS R. SAYLOR, PROFESSIONAL STAFF MEMBER, SENATE AGRICULTURE
AND FORESTRY COMMITTEE
JOHN H. SULLIVAN, SENIOR STAFF CONSULTANT, HOUSE INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS COMMITTEE
KENNETH LIEBERTHAL, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, SWARTHMORE
COLLEGE
JAN CAROL BERRIS, PROGRAM DIRECTOR, NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON
US-CHINA RELATIONS

DONALD KEYSER, USLO (NOTETAKER)

VICE MINISTER WANG HAI-JUNG: WELCOME. TODAY, BECAUSE OF THE
SUDDEN EARTHQUAKE THAT OCCURRED THIS MORNING, THERE WAS UNEASI-
NESS CAUSED AMONG OUR FRIENDS. ARE YOU AFRAID NOW?
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CZARNECKI: AT 3:45 THIS MORNING WE WERE.

WANG: BUT NOT NOW?

CZARNECKI: NO.

WANG: THE EPICENTER WAS AT A PLACE 150 KMS. TO THE SOUTHEAST OF
PEKING. IT REGISTERED 7.4 ON THE RICHTER SCALE. ACCORDING TO THE
GENERAL LAW OF EARTHQUAKES, NORMALLY AFTER THE QUAKE THERE
AFTER-SHOCKS, TODAY, TOMORROW AND THE FOLLOWING DAY. BUT THE
DEPARTMENTS CONCERNED RESPONSIBLE FOR RESEARCH AND PREDICTIONS
WILL LET YOU KNOW AS SOON AS WE HAVE ANY INFORMATION. THE HOST
ORGANIZATION WILL LET YOU KNOW WHEN WE TRULY KNOW. THERE IS NO

NEED TO BE AFRAID. WHERE DO EARTHQUAKES TAKE PLACE MOST FREQUENTLY IN THE UNITED STATES?

WANG: GENERALLY SPEAKING, WHAT IS THE DEGREE ON THE RICHTER SCALE?

CZARNECKI: I HAVE TO DEFER TO MY FRIEND FROM CALIFORNIA, MR. LIEBERTHAL.

LIEBERTHAL: I REALLY DON'T KNOW, OVER 6.

HOLT: EVERYTHING IS BIGGER IN CHINA.

WANG: NOT NECESSARILY. THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN MINOR TREMORS, SOME HAVE BEEN 4 PLUS, SOME HAVE BEEN 5 PLUS. THIS TIME THE EPICENTER WAS CLOSER TO PEKING, ONLY 150 KMS. TO THE SOUTHEAST. WE FELT IT, THE TRMOR, MORE THIS TIME. WHAT VIEWS DO THE FRIENDS FROM THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE HAVE?

CZARNECKI: MADAME VICE FOREIGN MINISTER, LET ME FIRST EXPRESS TO YOU OUR APPRECIATEION FOR LETTING US MEET WITH YOU, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF THIS MORNING'S EVENTS. ON BEHALF OF MY COLLEAGUES, LET ME EXPRESS OUR SYMPATHIES TO THE CHINESE PEOPLE WHO MAY HAVE BEEN HURT AND TO OUR CHINESE HOSTS, WHO HAVE SHOWN GREAT COURAGE AND GREAT CONCERN FOR OUR HEALTH STARTING FROM VERY EARLY THIS MORNING. THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

WANG: BUT YOU ARE OUR FRIENDS WHO HAVE COME TO VISIT OUR COUNTRY. CONFIDENTIAL

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THIS IS OUR OBLIGATION.

CZARNECKI: YOU ARE VERY KIND. WE HAVE MANY ISSUES WHICH WE WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS WITH YOU. WITH YOUR PERMISSION I WOULD LIKE TO LEAD OFF WITH A GENERAL QUESTION, THEN ALLOW MY COLLEAGUES TO ASK THEIR OWN PERSONAL QUESTIONS.

WANG: ALL RIGHT.

CZARNECKI: I THINK ALL OF US ARE OF THE SAME MIND. WE ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO AND HOPING FOR A CONTINUATION AND AN INCREASE IN GOOD AND BETTER RELATIONS WITH CHINA. ONE AREA THAT IS VERY VITAL TO BOTH COUNTRIES IS ASIA, THE PERIPHERY ESPECIALLY OF ASIA. WHAT IS YOUR GOVERNMENT'S PERCEPTION OF THE PROPER AND CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE FOR THE UNITED STATES IN TERMS OF POLITICAL, DIPLOMATIC, MILITARY AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN ALL REGIONS STRETCHING FROM THE INDIAN OCEAN TO JAPAN AND THE PACIFIC REGION? WHAT IS THE VIEW OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT?

WANG: THIS IS VERY DIFFICULT FOR US TO ANSWER. THIS A MATTER WHICH IS THE AFFAIR OF THE UNITED STATES.

CZARNECKI: YET IN MANY PLACES IN THAT PARTICULAR REGION OUR

INTERESTS CONVERGE AND SOMETIMES THEY SEEM TO BE OPPOSED. BUT LOOKING AT THE LARGER FRAMEWORK OF CONTINUING INTERESTS, WE WONDER HOW YOU VIEW OUR MILITARY PRESENCE IN SOUTH KOREA.

WANG: OUR POSITION ON KOREA AND OUR STAND IS CONSISTENT AND YOU UNDERSTAND IT QUITE WELL. IN SOUTH KOREA, OUR STAND IS THAT WE FAVOR DISSOLUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS COMMAND AND THAT YOU WITHDRAW ALL TROOPS FROM SOUTH KOREA AND THAT THE KOREAN QUESTION BE LEFT TO THE KOREAN PEOPLE THEMSELVES TO SOLVE AND WE ALSO SUPPORT THE STAND OF NORTH KOREA FOR INDEPENDENCE AND PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF KOREA. THIS STAND HAS ALWAYS BEEN CONSISTENT. IT IS CLEAR TO YOU. WE HAVE EXPLAINED IT TO OTHER AMERICAN FRIENDS WHO HAVE VISITED. TO YOUR PRESIDENT FORD WHEN HE WAS HERE. TO YOUR SECRETARY OF STATE, DR. HENRY KISSINGER. THIS STAND IS KNOWN TO ALL AND LAST YEAR DURING THE 30TH UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY OUR FOREIGN MINISTER ALSO EXPRESSED IT VERY CLEARLY. HE EXPRESSED THE POSITION OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT ON KOREA.

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CZARNECKI: IN THE CONTEXT OF WHAT YOU HAVE SAID, I WOULD JUDGE THAT THAT KIND OF PROPOSAL THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER MADE LAST WEEK FOR DISCUSSIONS THAT WOULD INVOLVE THE UNITED STATES, NORTH KOREA, SOUTH KOREA AND CHINA WOULD NOT BE VIEWED AS ACHIEVING THE OBJECTIVES THAT YOU HAVE OUTLINED.

(NOTE: AT THIS POINT TING YUAN-HUNG AND TANG WEN-SHENG SIMULTANEOUSLY CORRECTED THE TRANSLATOR)

WANG: NO. WELL, I'M AWARE OF THE PROPOSAL BY SECRETARY OF STATE DR. HENRY KISSINGER IN HIS SEATTLE SPEECH LAST WEEK. HIS PROPOSAL WAS NOT AT ALL A NEW ONE. WHAT KIND OF NEW PROPOSAL IS THIS? OUR STAND ON KOREA IS CLEAR TO YOU ALL.

HOLT: THANK YOU. I'D LIKE TO REPEAT THE WORDS OF APPRECIATION FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH YOU AND TO EMPHASIZE OUR GRATITUDE TO OUR HOSTS IN THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS WHO THIS MORNING TOOK EVERY STEP TO INSURE OUR COMFORT AND SAFETY. THERE ARE A GREAT MANY THINGS I'D BE INTERESTED IN DISCUSSING WITH THE VICE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, BUT WE HAVE A LARGE GROUP AND I'VE BEEN TAKING A LOT OF TIME ON THIS TRIP, AND I'D LIKE TO YIELD TO OTHERS IN THIS GROUP.

WANG: DO THE OTHER FRIENDS HAVE QUESTIONS?

LIEBERTHAL: IN 1973 AT THE TENGTH PARTY CONGRESS, PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI SAID THAT THE USSR IS FEINTING TO THE EAST, BUT ATTACKING TO THE WEST; BUT AT THE SAME TIME PREMIER CHOU WARNED AGAINST A SURPRISE ATTACK. DOES THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT STILL BELIEVE THERE IS ANY POSSIBILITY OF A SURPRISE ATTACK?

WANG: ARE THERE ANY OTHER QUESTIONS?

STARK: I'D LIKE TO HEAR YOUR VIEWS ON CHINA-JAPAN TRADE RELATIONS AND ON UNITED STATES-CHINA TRADE RELATIONS, PARTICULARLY THE OUT-LOOK FOR THEM.

WANG: ANY OTHER QUESTIONS?

SAYLOR: WE HAVE SEEN THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER MULTI-NATIONAL FOR OVER MANY YEARS TIED UP IN DISCUSSION AND DEBATE THAT SEEMED TO CONFIDENTIAL

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OBSTRUCT ANY ROLE THAT THESE ORGANIZATIONS MIGHT HAVE HAD. WHAT IS CHINA'S VIEW OF THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS?

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 4 PEKING 1430

NODIS

WANG: ANY OTHER QUESTIONS?

MOOSE: I'D LIKE TO HEAR FROM THE VICE FOREIGN MINISTER WHETHER SHE SEES ANY POLICY AREAS, EITHER IN THE FAR EAST OR ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD, WHERE SHE BELIEVES THAT THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA HAVE COMMON INTERESTS OR COULD WORK TOGETHER.

WANG: ARE THERE ANY OTHER QUESTIONS? NO? WELL, IN THAT CASE LET ME DISCUSS THE CONSISTENT STAND OF CHINA ON SOME OF THE ISSUES. FIRST, I'D LIKE TO DEAL WITH OUR VIEWS ON QUESTIONS OF THE GENERAL INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. WE HOLD THAT THE OVERALL INTERNATIONAL SITUATION CAN BE DESCRIBED AS: THERE IS GREAT CHAOS UNDER HEAVEN, BUT THE SITUATION IS EXCELLENT. AND TODAY THERE ARE VARIOUS FUNDAMENTAL CONTRADICTIONS WHICH ARE SHARPENING. THERE IS A GENERAL TREND. NATIONS WANT INDEPENDENCE, COUNTRIES WANT LIBERATION, PEOPLES WANT REVOLUTION. THIS TREND IS IRREVERSIBLE, THIS TREND IS IRRESISTIBLE. AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD SITUATION IS MORE AND MORE FAVORABLE TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD. IT IS BECOMING MORE AND MORE UNFAVORABLE TO IMPERIALISM AND TO REVISIONISM. THE AWAKENING AND THE HEIGHTENED CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ARE BEING HEIGHTENED EVERY DAY. ACCORDING

TO OUR CALCULATIONS, GENERALLY SPEAKING, FOLLOWING THE END OF WORLD WAR II MORE THAN 80 COUNTRIES HAVE GAINED INDEPENDENCE. OUR VIEW OF THE GENERAL WORLD SITUATION IS OPTIMISTIC. WE HAVE FAITH IN OUR VIEW OF THE GENERAL WORLD SITUATION. WHEN THE LATE PREMIER CHOU AT THE FOURTH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (HERE TANG WEN-SHENG BREAKS IN AND CORRECTS, SAYING THE TENTH PARTY CONGRESS) GAVE HIS REPORT STATING THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD FEINT TO THE EAST BUT CONFIDENTIAL

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STRIKE TO THE WEST, HE ALSO INDICATED THAT THE FOCAL POINT OF CON- TENTION IS IN EUROPE. BUT OUR VIEW IS THAT NO MATTER WHAT THE SOVIET UNION DOES, ITS SPEARHEAD IS DIRECTED AGAINST YOU, THE UNITED STATES. ALTHOUGH THE SOVIET UNION HAS DEPLOYED (HEREHRANG WEN-SHENG BREAKS IN, CORRECTING TO SAY "SOMEONE HAS SAID THAT, ALTHOUGH THE SOVIET UNION HAS DEPLOYED) ONE MILLION TROOPS ALONG THE SINO- SOVIET BORDER, WE STILL BELIEVE THAT THE SPEARHEAD IS DIRECTED AGAINST YOU. IN OUR VIEW, THE POLAR BEAR WANTS TO FIX YOU (CHENG NI) AND BITE YOU (YAO NI). OF COURSE, THEY ARE FIRST AND FOREMOST DIRECTED AGAINST THE UNITED STATES. BUT THIS DOES NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY THAT AT THE SAME TIME THEY ARE ALSO DIRECTED AGAINST US. OUR VIEW IS THAT THEY ARE DIRECTED FIRST AGAINST THE UNITED STATES, SECOND AGAINST JAPAN AND THIRD AGAINST CHINA IN THE EAST. THIS IS OUR GENERAL VIEW OF THE SITUATION. REGARDING TRADE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, WHEN OUR RELATIONS ARE STILL NOT NORMALIZED, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE, JUDGING FROM THE GENERAL SITUATION, THAT THERE CAN BE AN INCREASE IN TRADE. REGARDING THIS GENTLEMAN'S QUESTION (POINTING AT THE GENTLEMAN) ON CHINA'S ROLE IN THE UNITED NATIONS. ON THIS, OUR FRIENDS ARE VERY CLEAR. IN GENERAL, WE SUPPORT THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES IN THE UNITED NATIONS. IN THE UNITED NATIONS, TO PUT IT VERY FRANKLY, WE VERY OFTEN STATE THAT WE SUPPORT THE THIRD WORLD IN OPPOSING THE TWO SUPERPOWERS. (TANG WEN-SHENG BREAKS IN TO SAY, "THE TWO HEGEMONISTS) AS TO THE ROLE OF CHINA IN THE UNITED NATIONS, EVER SINCE THE 26TH UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY WHEN CHINA'S LEGITIMATE RIGHTS WERE RESTORED IN THE UNITED NATIONS, CHINA HAS PLAYED SOME ROLE. BUT IT IS DIFFICULT TO SAY THAT CHINA PLAYS A BIG ROLE. BUT EVER SINCE WE HAVE ENTERED THE UNITED NATIONS THE VOICES OF THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES HAVE BECOME MORE RESONANT, INCREASINGLY HEARD. THAT GENTLEMAN (MEANING MOOSE) ASKED ABOUT OUR MUTUAL INTERESTS AND AREAS OF COOPERATION (TANG WEN-SHENG BREAKS IN TO CORRECT, "AREAS OF WORKING TOGETHER"). FIRST, I'D LIKE TO SAY A FEW WORDS ON SINO-US RELATIONS. WHEN YOUR FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON VISITED CHINA IN 1972, OUR TWO SIDES ISSUED THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. PROVIDED THAT BOTH SIDES ADHERE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, OUR RELATIONS CAN BE CONTINUOUSLY IMPROVED. BOTH CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE MANY COMMON POINTS ON INTER- NATIONAL ISSUES, BUT WE HAVE DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS AND DIFFERENT IDEOLOGIES. THERE ALSO EXIST DIFFERENCES OF PRINCIPLE BETWEEN US. LET US BOTH, CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES, EXERT OUR EFFORTS ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. AS FOR COOPERATION OR ALLIANCE, WE ARE NOT FOR SUCH A THING. FIRST OF CONFIDENTIAL

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ALL, WE HAVE A COMMON VIEWPOINT. BOTH CHINA AND THE US MUST COUNTER-
OUR "ALLY" IN THE NORTH. BUT WE HAVE A KEY ISSUE IN THE QUESTION
OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS. THE ISSUE OF TAIWAN. REGARDING THE
QUESTION OF TAIWAN, OUR POSITION REGARDING TAIWAN IS VERY CLEAR.
I PRESUME THAT OUR FRIENDS PRESENT ARE VERY CLEAR. FIRST OF ALL,
IT IS THE UNITED STATES THAT OWES US A DEBT. IF NORMALIZATION OF
RELATIONS IS TO TAKE PLACE, WE MUST EXPLICITLY STATE OUR STAND.
THAT IS, WE HAVE THREE CONDITIONS. THEY ARE: ONE, SEVERANCE OF
DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN; TWO, WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS FROM

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 PEKING 1430

NODIS

WORLD. THERE IS NO WAY TO CHANGE THIS. AS FOR CHINA, CHINA
CONSTITUTES NO THREAT TO ANYBODY. IT DOES NOT ASPIRE TO EXPAN-
SIONISM. THE INSTRUCTIONS BY CHAIRMAN MAO ARE VERY CLEAR. DIG
TUNNELS DEEP, STORE GRAIN EVERYWHERE AND NEVER SEEK HEGEMONY.
WE HAVE NO TROOPS STATIONED ON THE SOIL OF ANY OTHER COUNTRY IN
THE WORLD. OUR CHINESE PEOPLE'S VOLUNTEERS WERE COMPLETELY WITH-
DRAWN IN 1958 FROM KOREA. NOW IT IS THE UNITED STATES THAT HAS
NOT WITHDRAWN ITS TROOPS FROM SOUTH KOREA. THE SOVIET UNION IS
EXPANDING AND SEEKING HEGEMONY. THIS IS DETERMINED BY THE NATURE
OF ITS SOCIAL IMPERIALISM. IT IS VERY AMBITIOUS, BUT ITS STRENGTH
IS LIMITED. IN A SENSE THE SOCIAL IMPERIALISTS ARE VERY WEAK.

MCFADDED: YOU HAVE SAID THAT YOU WOULD LIKE TO SEE US WITHDRAW
TROOPS FROM KOREA AND BREAK OUR TREATY WITH SOUTH KOREA. YOU HAVE
SAID THAT YOU WOULD LIKE US TO WITHDRAW TROOPS FROM TAIWAN AND
BREAK OUR TREATY WITH TAIWAN. WOULD YOU FAVOR US WITHDRAWING
TROOPS FROM JAPAN AND ABROGATING OUR TREATY WITH JAPAN?

WANG: IN PRINCIPLE, WE ARE AGAINST ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY BASES
OR STATIONING OF ANY TROOPS ON FOREIGN SOIL. THIS IS OUR CONSISTENT
STAND. REGARDING TAIWAN, I'VE ALREADY SAID THAT THIS IS AN INTERNAL
AFFAIR OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE. IT IS THE UNITED STATES THAT OWES
US A DEBT. IT WAS MENTIONED VERY EXPLICITLY IN THE SHANGHAI
COMMUNIQUE THAT TAIWAN IS ONE OF CHINA'S PROVINCES. WITH REGARD

TO JAPAN, OUR RELATIONS WITH IT TODAY ARE NOT SO GOOD AND ARE NOT SO BAD. BUT RECENTLY EVERYONE KNOWS THAT JAPAN'S MIKI (TING YUAN-HUNG CUTS IN TO CORRECT: FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA).. MIYAZAWA HAS MADE A STATEMENT THAT WE REGARD CONFIDENTIAL

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AS REGRETTABLE; THAT IS A SERIOUS VIOLATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SINO-JAPANESE JOINT STATEMENT; AND IT CONSTITUTES CRUDE INTER-FERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CHINA. THEREFORE, WE COULD NOT BUT EXPRESS REGRET AT THE STATEMENT.

CZARNECKI: MADAME VICE FOREIGN MINISTER, SINCE WE BOTH SEEM TO AGREE ON IDENTIFICATION OF THE PROBLEMS EVEN THOUGH OUR PERSPECTIVES DIFFER VIEW POINTS ARE CLOSE HERE. THE SOVIET UNION IS EXPANDING IN MANY AREAS. IN VIEW OF THIS, HOW DO YOU REGARD THE PRESENCE OF THE AMERICAN NAVY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN WHEN THE SOVIET NAVAL MOVEMENTS HAVE BEEN INCREASING IN RECENT YEARS. IS THE PRESENCE OF THE AMERICAN NAVY A STABILIZING FACTOR OR A DESTABILIZING FACTOR?

WANG: THE SOVIET UNION'S NAVAL EXPANSION IN THE INDIAN IS FIRST OF ALL AIMED AND DIRECTED AT THE UNITED STATES. AS I HAVE STATED, OUR CONSISTENT STAND IS, WE OPPOSE ANY ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY BASES OR STATIONING OF TROOPS IN ANY FOREIGN COUNTRY BY ANOTHER COUNTRY.

CZARNECKI: WOULD THIS APPLY TO THE SOVIET UNION?

WANG: OF COURSE.

(TANG WEN-SHENG CUTS IN TO SAY, "THE INDIAN OCEAN IS NOT A COUNTRY.")

WANG: I WILL STATE AGAIN OUR CONSISTENT STAND. WE ARE AGAINST ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY BASES OR STATIONING OF FOREIGN TROOPS ABROAD. THIS IS ALSO APPLICABLE TO THE SOVIET UNION. AS I HAVE MENTIONED, THE NAVL EXPANSION OF THE SOVIET UNION IN THE INDIAN OCEAN IS FIRST AND FOREMOST DIRECTED AT THE UNITED STATES. BUT THE FOCAL POINT OF THE SOVIET UNION IS STILL EUROPE.

CZARNECKI: I THINK WE'LL AGREE ON THAT.

WANG: WE'VE TOLD OUR FRIENDS FROM EUROPE THAT WE HOPE THEY AND THE UNITED STATES WOULD MAINTAIN A RELATIONSHIP OF EQUALITY AND PARTNERSHIP.

BRENNER: MANY AMERICANS ARE CONCERNED ABNIT NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. IT IS BOTH DANGEROUS AND COSTLY. IS CHINA THINKING ABOUT WAYS TO CONFIDENTIAL

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PREVENT THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS?

WANG: WE HAVE ALSO DEVELOPED OUR OWN NUCLEAR WEAPONS, BUT THOSE WE HAVE DEVELOPED ARE VERY LIMITED. THEY ARE MAINLY FOR THE PURPOSE OF SMASHING THE NUCLEAR MONOPOLY. IT IS AIMED AT DESTROYING NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THIS HAS BEEN OUR CONSISTENT STAND.

BEST: MY VIEW OF THE WORLD IS THAT THE UNITED STATES WANTS PEACE, THAT IT IS TIRED OF PREJUDICES AND SO FORTH. THE UNITED STATES AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE AT A CROSSROADS. SHOULD WE TAKE STEPS TO PROTECT OUR INTERESTS? WE HOPE THAT WE CAN HAVE MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AND CAN HAVE CERTAIN UNDERSTANDINGS IN MILITARY AFFAIRS. BUT HOW DO WE GET THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO UNDERSTAND THERE IS A NEED FOR A STRONG DEFENSE? HOW CAN WE GET THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO UNDERSTAND THAT THERE IS A NEED FOR A STRONG EUROPE? IF MY QUESTION AND MY STATEMENT IS A LITTLE UNCLEAR, I APOLOGIZE BECAUSE I'M VERY TIRED.

WANG: I CAN UNDERSTAND THAT YOU ARE TIRED. YOU DIDN'T SLEEP AT ALL LAST NIGHT. I HOPE THAT TONIGHT YOU ALL SLEEP WELL. WITH REGARD TO YOUR UNDERSTANDING ON MILITARY COOPERATION AND THE DILEMMA OF HOW YOU GET THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO UNDERSTAND THE NEED FOR A STRONG DEFENSE, THIS IS YOUR AMERICAN AFFAIR. MAYBE YOU CAN ASK PRESIDENT FORD HOW TO SOLVE IT.

MCFADDEN: RECENTLY THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES HAS TAKEN A COVENANT TO MAKE THE MARIANAS A PROVINCE OF THE UNITED STATES, ALSO THE MARSHALL ISLANDS. THESE ARE TRUSTS AND WE WILL BE DISCUSSING THEIR STATUS IN THE FUTURE. THESE ARE STRATEGIC TRUSTS UNDER THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. IF ACTION BY THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL WERE REQUIRED TO DISPOSE OF THE TRUSTS, WHAT POSITION WOULD THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TAKE?

(TANG WEN-SHENG REINTERPRETS THE QUESTION AND EXPLAINS IT TO WANG HAI-JUNG)

WANG: WE SHALL WAIT AND WE SHALL STUDY THE QUESTION AT THE UNITED NATIONS BEFORE WE TAKE UP THE ISSUE.

CZARNECKI: I KNOW THIS HAS BEEN A VERY INTERESTING SESSION, BUT I FEAR THAT WE HAVE BEEN TAKING UP TOO MUCH OF YOUR TIME. WE APPRECIATE YOUR VERY CLEAR EXPOSITION OF THE VIEWS OF THE CHINESE
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GOVERNMENT ON A GREAT VARIETY OF ISSUES. YOU HAVE ALSO SAT PATIENTLY AND LISTENED TO OUR VIEWS. WE ARE VERY GRATEFUL FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO HAVE THIS KIND OF EXCHANGE.

WANG: WE HAVE EXCHANGED VIEWS IN A FRANK MANNER. ON CERTAIN ISSUES WHAT I'VE SAID IS PERHAPS NOT VERY PLEASANT FOR YOU (NAN TING)

,
BUT THESE ARE OUR HONEST WORDS. WE THANK YOU FOR COMING TO VISIT OUR COUNTRY. THESE FRANK EXCHANGES OF OPINIONS AND VIEWS ARE USEFUL IN PROMOTING AND DEVELOPING OUR MUTUAL INTERESTS. WE HOPE THAT IN

THE COURSE OF YOUR TRAVEL TO OTHER PROVINCES OF THE COUNTRY YOU WILL WITNESS THE SPIRITUAL AND MENTAL OUTLOOK OF THE PEOPLE WHO AFTER THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION, THE MOVEMENT TO CRITICIZE LIN BIAO AND CONFUCIUS, THE ANTI-TENG HSIAO-PING MOVEMENT AND THE COUNTER BLOW AGAINST THE RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND TO REVERSE PREVIOUS VERDICTS HAVE ACHIEVED GREAT VICTORIES. LAST NIGHT ALL OF YOU DIDN'T SELL WELL. YOU MUST BE VERY TIRED. I HOPE THAT THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAS ARRANGED FOR A BETTER REST TONIGHT. WE ALL SHOOK FOR A WHILE, BUT WE ARE ALL STILL ON THIS EARTH. SHALL WE REACH AN AGREEMENT NOW THAT OUR DISCUSSION WAS OFF THE RECORD AND NOT FOR PUBLICATION?

CZARNECKI: YES, THAT'S FINE.

WANG: MR. KE PO-NIEN IS MY ELDER GENERATION. I CALL HIM REVERED KE (KE LAO).

CZARNECKI: HE WAS SO FULL OF VIM AND VIGOR LAST NIGHT AT THE BANQUET.

WANG: YES. THANK YOU FOR COMING. GOODBYE.
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 4 OF 4 PEKING 1430

NODIS

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MCFADDED: YOU HAVE SAID THAT YOU WOULD LIKE TO SEE US WITHDRAW

TROOPS FROM KOREA AND BREAK OUR TREATY WITH SOUTH KOREA. YOU HAVE SAID THAT YOU WOULD LIKE US TO WITHDRAW TROOPS FROM TAIWAN AND BREAK OUR TREATY WITH TAIWAN. WOULD YOU FAVOR US WITHDRAWING TROOPS FROM JAPAN AND ABROGATING OUR TREATY WITH JAPAN?

WANG: IN PRINCIPLE, WE ARE AGAINST ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY BASES OR STATIONING OF ANY TROOPS ON FOREIGN SOIL. THIS IS OUR CONSISTENT STAND. REGARDING TAIWAN, I'VE ALREADY SAID THAT THIS IS AN INTERNAL AFFAIR OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE. IT IS THE UNITED STATES THAT OWES US A DEBT. IT WAS MENTIONED VERY EXPLICITLY IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE THAT TAIWAN IS ONE OF CHINA'S PROVINCES. WITH REGARD TO JAPAN, OUR RELATIONS WITH IT TODAY ARE NOT SO GOOD AND ARE NOT SO BAD. BUT RECENTLY EVERYONE KNOWS THAT JAPAN'S MIKI (TING YUAN-HUNG CUTS IN TO CORRECT: FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA).. MIYAZAWA HAS MADE A STATEMENT THAT WE REGARD CONFIDENTIAL

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AS REGRETTABLE; THAT IS A SERIOUS VIOLATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SINO-JAPANESE JOINT STATEMENT; AND IT CONSTITUTES CRUDE INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CHINA. THEREFORE, WE COULD NOT BUT EXPRESS REGRET AT THE STATEMENT.

CZARNECKI: MADAME VICE FOREIGN MINISTER, SINCE WE BOTH SEEM TO AGREE ON IDENTIFICATION OF THE PROBLEMS EVEN THOUGH OUR PERSPECTIVES DIFFER VIEW POINTS ARE CLOSE HERE. THE SOVIET UNION IS EXPANDING IN MANY AREAS. IN VIEW OF THIS, HOW DO YOU REGARD THE PRESENCE OF THE AMERICAN NAVY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN WHEN THE SOVIET NAVAL MOVEMENTS HAVE BEEN INCREASING IN RECENT YEARS. IS THE PRESENCE OF THE AMERICAN NAVY A STABILIZING FACTOR OR A DESTABILIZING FACTOR?

WANG: THE SOVIET UNION'S NAVAL EXPANSION IN THE INDIAN IS FIRST OF ALL AIMED AND DIRECTED AT THE UNITED STATES. AS I HAVE STATED, OUR CONSISTENT STAND IS, WE OPPOSE ANY ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY BASES OR STATIONING OF TROOPS IN ANY FOREIGN COUNTRY BY ANOTHER COUNTRY.

CZARNECKI: WOULD THIS APPLY TO THE SOVIET UNION?

WANG: OF COURSE.

(TANG WEN-SHENG CUTS IN TO SAY, "THE INDIAN OCEAN IS NOT A COUNTRY.")

WANG: I WILL STATE AGAIN OUR CONSISTENT STAND. WE ARE AGAINST ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY BASES OR STATIONING OF FOREIGN TROOPS ABROAD. THIS IS ALSO APPLICABLE TO THE SOVIET UNION. AS I HAVE MENTIONED, THE NAVAL EXPANSION OF THE SOVIET UNION IN THE INDIAN OCEAN IS FIRST AND FOREMOST DIRECTED AT THE UNITED STATES. BUT THE FOCAL POINT OF THE SOVIET UNION IS STILL EUROPE.

CZARNECKI: I THINK WE'LL AGREE ON THAT.

WANG: WE'VE TOLD OUR FRIENDS FROM EUROPE THAT WE HOPE THEY AND THE UNITED STATES WOULD MAINTAIN A RELATIONSHIP OF EQUALITY AND PARTNERSHIP.

BRENNER: MANY AMERICANS ARE CONCERNED ABOUT NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. IT IS BOTH DANGEROUS AND COSTLY. IS CHINA THINKING ABOUT WAYS TO CONFIDENTIAL

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PREVENT THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS?

WANG: WE HAVE ALSO DEVELOPED OUR OWN NUCLEAR WEAPONS, BUT THOSE WE HAVE DEVELOPED ARE VERY LIMITED. THEY ARE MAINLY FOR THE PURPOSE OF SMASHING THE NUCLEAR MONOPOLY. IT IS AIMED AT DESTROYING NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THIS HAS BEEN OUR CONSISTENT STAND.

BEST: MY VIEW OF THE WORLD IS THAT THE UNITED STATES WANTS PEACE, THAT IT IS TIRED OF PREJUDICES AND SO FORTH. THE UNITED STATES AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE AT A CROSSROADS. SHOULD WE TAKE STEPS TO PROTECT OUR INTERESTS? WE HOPE THAT WE CAN HAVE MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AND CAN HAVE CERTAIN UNDERSTANDINGS IN MILITARY AFFAIRS. BUT HOW DO WE GET THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO UNDERSTAND THERE IS A NEED FOR A STRONG DEFENSE? HOW CAN WE GET THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO UNDERSTAND THAT THERE IS A NEED FOR A STRONG EUROPE? IF MY QUESTION AND MY STATEMENT IS A LITTLE UNCLEAR, I APOLOGIZE BECAUSE I'M VERY TIRED.

WANG: I CAN UNDERSTAND THAT YOU ARE TIRED. YOU DIDN'T SLEEP AT ALL LAST NIGHT. I HOPE THAT TONIGHT YOU ALL SLEEP WELL. WITH REGARD TO YOUR UNDERSTANDING ON MILITARY COOPERATION AND THE DILEMMA OF HOW YOU GET THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO UNDERSTAND THE NEED FOR A STRONG DEFENSE, THIS IS YOUR AMERICAN AFFAIR. MAYBE YOU CAN ASK PRESIDENT FORD HOW TO SOLVE IT.

MCFADDEN: RECENTLY THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES HAS TAKEN A COVENANT TO MAKE THE MARIANAS A PROVINCE OF THE UNITED STATES, ALSO THE MARSHALL ISLANDS. THESE ARE TRUSTS AND WE WILL BE DISCUSSING THEIR STATUS IN THE FUTURE. THESE ARE STRATEGIC TRUSTS UNDER THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. IF ACTION BY THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL WERE REQUIRED TO DISPOSE OF THE TRUSTS, WHAT POSITION WOULD THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TAKE?

(TANG WEN-SHENG REINTERPRETS THE QUESTION AND EXPLAINS IT TO WANG HAI-JUNG)

WANG: WE SHALL WAIT AND WE SHALL STUDY THE QUESTION AT THE UNITED NATIONS BEFORE WE TAKE UP THE ISSUE.

CZARNECKI: I KNOW THIS HAS BEEN A VERY INTERESTING SESSION, BUT I FEAR THAT WE HAVE BEEN TAKING UP TOO MUCH OF YOUR TIME. WE APPRECIATE YOUR VERY CLEAR EXPOSITION OF THE VIEWS OF THE CHINESE CONFIDENTIAL

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GOVERNMENT ON A GREAT VARIETY OF ISSUES. YOU HAVE ALSO SAT PATIENTLY AND LISTENED TO OUR VIEWS. WE ARE VERY GRATEFUL FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO HAVE THIS KIND OF EXCHANGE.

WANG: WE HAVE EXCHANGED VIEWS IN A FRANK MANNER. ON CERTAIN ISSUES WHAT I'VE SAID IS PERHAPS NOT VERY PLEASANT FOR YOU (NAN TING)

,
BUT THESE ARE OUR HONEST WORDS. WE THANK YOU FOR COMING TO VISIT OUR COUNTRY. THESE FRANK EXCHANGES OF OPINIONS AND VIEWS ARE USEFUL IN PROMOTING AND DEVELOPING OUR MUTUAL INTERESTS. WE HOPE THAT IN THE COURSE OF YOUR TRAVEL TO OTHER PROVINCES OF THE COUNTRY YOU WILL WITNESS THE SPIRITUAL AND MENTAL OUTLOOK OF THE PEOPLE WHO AFTER THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION, THE MOVEMENT TO CRITICIZE LIN PIAO AND CONFUCIUS, THE ANTI-TENG HSIAO-PING MOVEMENT AND THE COUNTER BLOW AGAINST THE RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND TO REVERSE PREVIOUS VERDICTS HAVE ACHIEVED GREAT VICTORIES. LAST NIGHT ALL OF YOU DIDN'T SELL WELL. YOU MUST BE VERY TIRED. I HOPE THAT THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAS ARRANGED FOR A BETTER REST TONIGHT. WE ALL SHOOK FOR A WHILE, BUT WE ARE ALL STILL ON THIS EARTH. SHALL WE REACH AN AGREEMENT NOW THAT OUR DISCUSSION WAS OFF THE RECORD AND NOT FOR PUBLICATION?

CZARNECKI: YES, THAT'S FINE.

WANG: MR. KE PO-NIEN IS MY ELDER GENERATION. I CALL HIM REVERED KE (KE LAO).

CZARNECKI: HE WAS SO FULL OF VIM AND VIGOR LAST NIGHT AT THE BANQUET.

WANG: YES. THANK YOU FOR COMING. GOODBYE.
GATES

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 15 SEP 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PERSONAL OPINION, TEXT, FOREIGN RELATIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, CAT-C
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 JUL 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ElyME
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976PEKING01430
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: P840090-1840
From: PEKING
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t197607109/baaaennc.tel
Line Count: 684
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 13
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ElyME
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 04 NOV 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <04 NOV 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <16 SEP 2004 by ElyME>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: VERBATIM TRANSCRIPT OF MEETING BETWEEN CONGRESSIONAL
TAGS: PFOR, PEPR, US, CH, TW, (WANG HAI-JUNG)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006